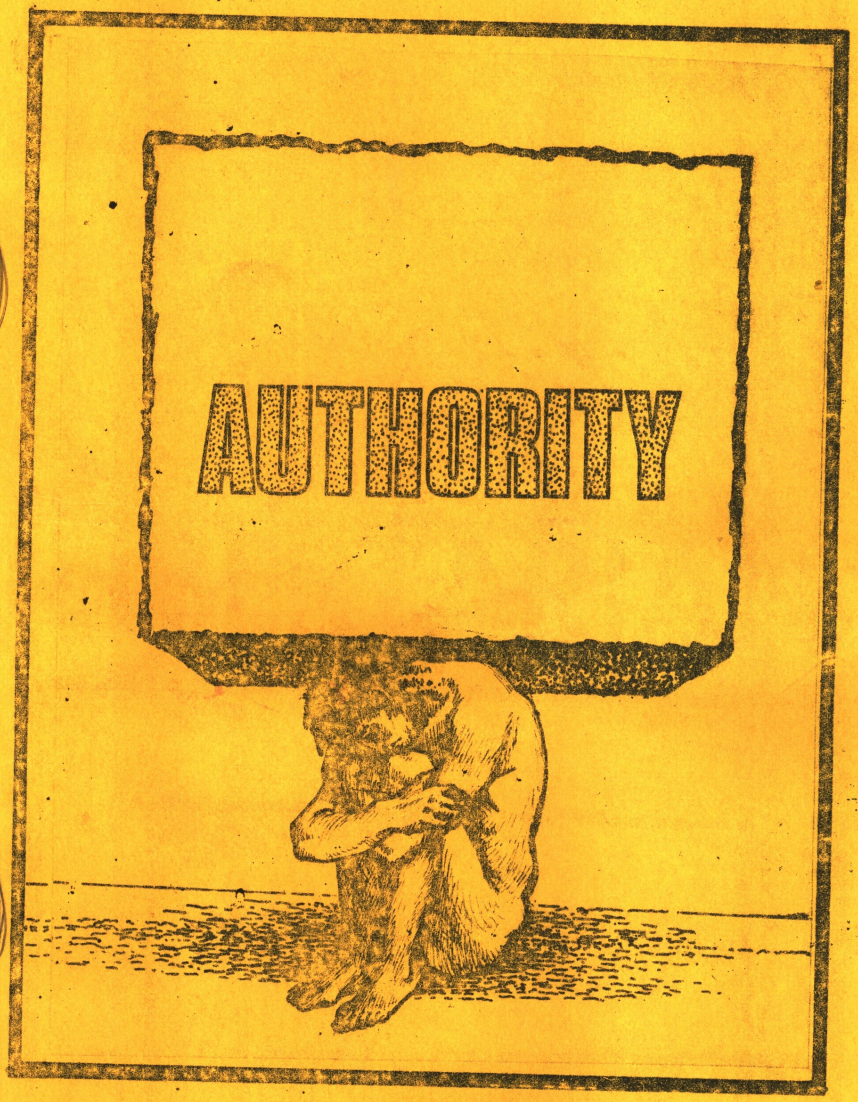
T/SOR/3/56/75 No.1

Scottish LIBERTARIAN



JOURNAL OF THE SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

1/ WE STAND FOR THE CREATION OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY, THE ABOLITION OF WAGE LABOUR & AN END TO OPPRESSION ON THE GROUNDS OF SEX OR RACE.

2/ WHEN & IF DECISIONS NEED TO BE TAKEN WHICH INVOLVE MORE PEOPLE THAN CAN MEET FACE TO FACE THEN THESE DECISIONS WILL BE TAKEN BY ELECTED DELEGATES. DELEGATES AHOULD BE SUBJECT TO IMMEDIATE RECALL BY THE GROUPS THEY REPRESENT. THEY SHOULD HAVE NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES. THEIR SOLE FUNCTION WOULD BE TO COMMUNICATE THE VIEWSOF THE PEOPLE WHO ELECT THEM. NO ONE SHOULD MAKE A CAREER OUT OF BEING A DELEGATE.

3/ WE STAND FOR THE ABOLITION, NOT THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER. THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY WHICH WE WANT CANNOT BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY ANY GROUP ASSUMING POWER ON BEHALF OF THE WORKING CLASS. IT CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE WANTING IT & UNDERSTANDING HOW THEY ARE TO BRING IT ABOUT.

This "Manifesto" was drawn up at the 4th SLF Conference, November '7[illegible] in Glasgow. Those delegated to compose it were - Paul(Glasgow), John (Dundee), Stuart(West Lothian), Paul(Edinburgh), Charlie(Glasgow), & Bob(Edinburgh). The above version, seen as a MINIMUM basis of membership to the Scottish Libertarian Federation, was approved by Conference as a whole on Sunday 14th Nov. morning session.

Contrary to the past affiliation on a Group basis, it was felt a greater expression of commitment was INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP to be open to all those who accepted the above "Manifesto" & the desira -bility to coordinate meaningful action against the capitalist State. Membership is open to all LIBERTARIANS in SCOTLAND at a standard sub. of £1 for a yearly period - all monies,enquiries to Stuart,National Secretary. For interested libertarians outwith Scotland subs. to this journal, produced by the Production Collective on a bi-monthly basis, are available at £1 for a yearly period(postage included) - if you live overseas a sub. in excess of this would be appreciated if possible.

Articles are unedited & the Production Collective would prefer if they were typed on a skin with ½inch margins at least. As of right all SLF members can expect their contributions to be included UNEDITED. It is up to the discression of the P.C. if 'outside' contributions,from libert -arians or otherwise, be included OR edited. Feel free to participate !

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Page 2 : "Manifesto" & how SLF is structured' - articles for "SL"2 by 3rd week in Jan please.

Page 3,4,5,6 : Untitled 1st contribution from Alan -towards an active subversion of consumption + "Sit-lit" list.

Pages 7,8,9 : Jerry's interpretation of session on SLF organisation.

Pages 10,11,12,13,14 : David vs.Goliath(State) - "Get it together" on AWA type of organisation + "FIGHT TO LIVE".

Pages 15,16 : Jean's critique,part one - I entitled it -"NO SUBSTITUTE FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY",on the fetish of structures etc.

Pages 16,17,18: Why SCOTLAND?; "We have structure,now for direction" & (me-Keith) - critique of "Left cohort" style + political & religious analogies.

Pages 19,20,21:Debate on Elections & SLF candidates. Case for -Sawney,Strathclyde Univ & case against,Paul,GAG.

Pages 22 ,23: on"sexism & libertarians",wot us? +bk list -Sharon.

Page 24 : INTERNATIONAL solidarity -Uruguay + Bratach Dubh (A&V).

Page 25 : ADDRESSES -SLF; USEFUL @ LIT - "BETWEEN THE LINES"agitprop.

Page 26 : BACK-page graphics,recycled from "Red Weekly".

SLF(Glasgow) : Fortnightly public meetings, St. Brides Centre, Partick. Starting 24th Jan.'[illegible] "Nationalism", 7th Feb "Control Systems".

The fact that we live in an Authoritarian Society implies that those in power use some kind of CONTROL SYSTEM to keep the population in check. The vested interests must use this system so that the population acts the way THEY want it to. Why else would the controllers of an Economic System which allows for 1,500,000 unemployed give us a Welfare State? Certainly not out of charity. The Welfare State is a method of buying off large segments of the population so that they will not revolt against the system. This way the population is kept in check. In effect it is CONTROLLED.

All control systems function on punishment/reward/anxiety.

Let's take an example. Rats in a cage. (An unfortunate analogy which keeps cropping up for some reason) You take these rats in a cage - perfectly happy rats in a great big cage with running water, a little windmill and good wholesome food - and you want them to work for you. Say, by turning the windmill wheel. You have to control them.

All control systems function on punishment/reward/anxiety.

First you have to make them anxious. ANXIETY adj. - a troubled state of mind; concern, torment, dismay..... Do this by cutting off the food supply. There's a small electric light bulb connected to the windmill. When the mill turns it lights up. When it lights up you chuck in a lump of Sunblest. Always remember that you're GOD and you control the harvest.

Now rats were not meant to turn windmills. This change from a simple rustic life style of collecting in the harvest to the industrial life style of turning the wheel of industry is not natural. This causes anxiety. Enforce it with punishment - cutting off the food. And then with reward - supplying hunks of Milanda or Mothers Pride. You get perfectly conditioned rats - too degraded to think for themselves.

Why not attach a generator to the windmill to power your hi-fi and air conditioning of your penthouse flat via an extention cable to the Bahalmas? It's easily done. Decrease the supply rate of Slimcea. Make them work harder. There's a small electric light bulb. Make them work night shift. Give them double rations that way. Double time. That'll make them more anxious. Rats were never intended to work at night. If your air conditioning's getting too cold - sack a couple of rats. Tell them there's a Trade Cycle going on.

If they gang up on you - form a union - give them cakes and coca-cola. Say it tastes better than the original ratty meusli. Tell them, give them documented proof, that you're rewarding them. When their guts rot and their teeth fall out you can form a Welfare System. You've got plenty of spare rats anyway. Stick them behind desks. Form a bureaucracy - get them fighting amongst themselves and that'll leave you free to enjoy yourself.

To cause more anxiety you can force them to live in little boxes. Give them severe electric shocks if they enjoy sex. Make up little taboos. Little ceremonies. Little T.V. sets so they can sit in their little boxes and watch films about people who don't watch little T.V. sets(?) Chuck in lumps of Xmas pudding every so often.

Eventually you can stay in the Bahalmas for good - let the whole system function on automatic pilot. The whole set-up will be there, functioning by itself, if and when you come back from your favourite tax-haven. Whole generations of rats will be born.

will live and will die without challenging the system. "The rich man at his castle; the poor rat at the trash-can." When they get so-called educated - give them a government. Disembowelled rats (no guts) like Sooty and Sweep glove puppets.

But there might occur - through negligence on your part when you're on automatic - a shortage of rewards. The machine might dry up. No bread left to go around. This will be the critical stage. All you have now will be pure punishment and mistreatment. When punishment overbalances reward - revolts occur. At first the rats will attack each other. Then they'll get sensible. They'll attack the windmill. Your hi-fi stylus belches to a halt in the middle of Mantiovanni. Smell of burning and blood in the gutters through your air conditioning. . . .

WHEN PUNISHMENT OVERBALANCES REWARD - REVOLTS OCCUR)

So far, in the fight against authority, the main foci of attack have been the punishment institutions. "SUCH AS?" Such as The Police; Landlords; Councils; Robert Carr's front door getting blown in; Governments; Polluters of the Atmosphere; Prisons; Debt Collectors; The Army etc. . . . All this has certainly made a FEW people aware of how they are being mistreated. But it is important that we get MORE people MORE aware of this fact, and as was said - when punishment overbalances reward revolts occur. So consider the following statement slowly.....

Why not make an effort to tilt the balance by attacking the rewards doled out in society's slop buckets?

Example: Vast numbers of teenage scrubbers are kept at a sub-human level of obedience by gradient exposure to Bay City Roller/Garry Glitter/The Drifters/The Assholes pop groups. They are conditioned in an extremely subtle way. The new face of Totalitarianism. The carrot dangling in front of them all the way to the Biscuit Factory/Disco/Boutique/Record Shop. These people must be saved somehow. Brainwashing is a gradual process. Why not disrupt their concerts? You could also back-out their discos. And the same goes for so-called adults. . . .Football is one of the carrots dangling in front of them. Something to keep their minds on all through the factory week. Admittedly many of them are past redemption. The brainwashing has been complete.

The ultimate aim of Authority is to force (violently or subtly) people to act in a pre-determined fashion. To rob them of their self-determination. Most people think of authority as functioning in a direct manner. Eg.... John has a machine-gun. David hasn't. John tells David to "pick up that piece of paper." David picks up that piece of paper..... When they don't <u>see</u> that machine-gun barrel they are unaware that they are being controlled. "It's a free country." they'll say as they get out of bed when it's still dark at 5 am. on their way to the Mink-Belly-Button-Brush factory. It is interesting to note that these machine-guns are always kept well-oiled in reserve. If (and when) the vested interests in society are irritated enough - perhaps we might force them to confront us in the open, that is, direct and face to face.

But until then we are fighting in a vaccuum. Any of you who have talked to non-Anarchists in an effort to tell them "Why Anarchy?" will know what I mean. How can you tell a devout Roman Catholic with 6 kids and rent arrears who has struggled for 43 years against all odds in a nerve racking fight to bring up a family that he has been brainwashed stupid and has wasted his time?

This is not easy. People are too set in their ways to converted (or de-conditioned) to Anarchism. Most people think that the so-called and long awaited revolution will happen in one fell swoop. This will not be so. Certainly events like the complete collapse of the economic system will occur extremely quickly. But Anarchism is a state of mind. The gradual change over from the old oppressive super-ego guilt stricken mode of existance to one of total freedom will take a long time. All this must be done on an individual basis.

Let me quote Aldous Huxley: "We live together, we act on, and react to, one another; but always and in all circumstances we are by ourselves. The martyrs go hand in hand into the arena; they are crucified alone.....etc,etc..... We can pool information about experiencesxxx , but never the experiences themselves. From family to nation, every human group is a society of island universes."

All that mass of semi-colons and imagery tried to convey the basic human predicament. ie. People just don't know each other and are at all times terrifyingly alone. Even in the middle of a crowd.

So the best thing we can do is to find people who are basically the same as you. People with the same interests. With the same or similar outlook on life. People who realise that the majority of the populace have been conned and brainwashed. People who act in the present tense. Who see a situation and act on it. Spontaneously. Most folk live for the future or elseexist in the past. Metaphorically speaking of course. What we must do is to scare them out of it. Make them aware that they are living pre-determined lives. What we are offering is an escape from the nausiating togetherness clammy fug of so-called security to the icy blast of freedom.

From the moment we assume this icy-bast-freedom state of mind - it is a battle between US and THEM. THEY being the people who are responsible for the mass-brainwashing turning the popylace into stupid fucking bastards to be avoided like the rush hour traffic.(quote ANARCHY mag no 9.....How do you fight fire? With water of course. How do you fight the mass(market)? Not with mass(movement). We fight it with class.) Our aim is to break the enemy's control lines. Remember the State machine can function on automatic. Until someone chucks a spanner in the works. Then it gets fucked up. Instead of subtle control as per in rats example you get machine gun-barrel control. Then people will have something concrete to rebel against instead of the Oedipus type Freudian abstract connection.

But who are US? someone will ask. US are our very own virulent minority. US are aggregate groups of individuals who know each other. Who can stand sustained eye to eye contact with each other. That way you get no infiltrators. Small groups who totally fuck up the enemy's control lines and then disappear leaving a trail of SOLIDARITYBLACKFLAGANARCHYMAGAWABIGFLAME pamphlets or better. The experienced anarchist collectives could help other people to form their own groups. That way anarchism should spread like some kind of healthy cancer. The boundaries between groups should not be too tighly defined. But nor should they be too loose. You'll find your own best kind of organisation definition to suit the situation you're in.

Remember. . . . . Small is beautiful!

OTHER WAYS OF DISRUPTING THE ENEMY'S CONTROL LINES

For many workers their only reason for living is Bingo. This is a sad state of affairs and should be discouraged forthwith. Set off fire-alarms in Bingo Halls and run like hell.....

Vast numbers of people watching Coronation Street on T.V. This situation should not be allowed. They should be out organising a distric Art Exhibition or else growing their own marajuana. Disrupt the T.V. programme somehow.

Spread roumors "The Queen's dead." along High St.

Vast numbers of stupid bastards in an office pushing ball-point pens and passing futile pieces of paper round in circles.EMERGENCY!! "We got to get them out boss!" "How many times I got to tell you we're Anarchists. There are no bosses. Only those who fall into the vaccuum of subordination. But you're right. We got to get them out....." The old reliable cure. Set off the fire-bell and THEN set the building on fire. (There ARE limits you know.)

Cause traffic jams.

Festival of Light demo outside a picture-house.... You worm your way in with your own subversive placard NO COCK-SUCKING IN THE CINEMA just as the B.B.C. cameras arrive.....

Dear Sir,

I am outraged at this pamphlet. It was obviously written by one of those Libertarian softees who try to discourage our soldiers from shooting lumps out of thick Irish sods. I would hang the lot of them. And that goes for all those who read this magazine. What is this country coming to? I have been brainwashed for 53 years and I am perfectly contented. In fact I have an Austin Allegro. And also three clay ducks on the wall. And I don't watch Coronation Street. I turn it over to see Z-cars.

Signed

An asshole

P.S. I have yet to see a film with cock-sucking. Where are they shown?

Dear Sir,

I am outraged at this article. People must form street committees and grow cabbages. And people are not basically stupid. There should be no individualism. Individualism can only lead to one thing. Wanking. And that makes you blind. Nor should there be any adventurism. My mummy and daddy say that's bad. And they are liberals. They let me chose my own wall-paper for my bedroom.

Yours

Another Asshole.

And I can't think of any way of finishing this article.

These tactics are only to give you a rough idea.

Good luck

A.J.B. GLASGOW

SIT-LIT : Guy De Bor(e)d "SOCIETY OF THE SPECTACLE", Black & Red (xerox version from SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION) - 75p from Glasgow group. Coming soon A.J.B. on Burroughs & Mayan Civilisation.plus postage.

Raol Vaneigem's radical subjectivity exposed in "Revolution of Everyday Life" - especially for subversive sociologists. "Dialectical Adventures into the Unknown" unfortunately out of print, although semi-legible version available from Spontaneous Combustion,25p xeroxed ya bass '. "We called a strike & no one came" B&R. "LEAVING THE 20th Century" ed. Chris Gray £1.25p if you can trace a copy from a left bookshop such as Grass-roots

Conference Report-Group Report & Organisation

SATURDAY MORNING

Edinburgh Report-the group recently recei ed a few new members and now has a strong ecology representation within the group as a whole. They are still trying to overcome the defects of being tied tied to a student base.

Dundee Report- only two comrades are left in the city and they do not function as a group.

Glasgow Report-mosf of the group's acti ity as been centred around Murray Defence. The group plans to rent a shop, hopefully to be used as a community action centre. Signs ofincreased student activity, but G.A.G. as such has not gained many new members Intended to revive Fair Fares campaign.

Stirling Report- group centred around university. Activity limited to ca mpus.

Aberdeen Report- no-one from Aberdeen group present at conference;they sent their apologies to conference.

SESSION ON ORGANISATION

The session began with Dave (Glasgow) stating that the S.L.F. was a 'farce'- no activity, no co-ordination. What activity there had been had been despite the S.L.F. and not because of it. Dave was queried on this point. e gawe as an example the Aberdeen group taking four months to produce the news-letter.The S.L.F. was not able to help them-Dave felt that the S.L.F. should have some 'power' to aid groups and individuals.

Paul (Glasgow) agrees. Cites Murray Defence work as an example. Communication in S.L.F. doesn't exist. Anarchist Federation of Britain also fails in communication. The faults of the S.L.F. are the faults of individual groups. Change must start at the bot-tom, with individuals and groups. Made the point that loose groups lead to a loose federation.

To start us off, Paul suggested that we go over Solidarity's As We See It with a view to constructing a state-ment of aims and principles for adopt-ance by the S.L.F. Paul also saw the need need for an agreed strategy over the next six months, with the possability of a joint production(e.g.Against Authority)

John (Dundee) saw one of the main reasons for poor communications within the S.L.F. being the lack of continuous activity on the part the groups, with the exception of Glasgow. He favoured individual membership of the S.L.F. and critisded the suggestion to start off from specific aims and principles (A.W.W. & Solidarity)-these had been built up by groups which had a clear idea of what they stood for and a very high degree of agreement within their groupings. He prefared to see the S.L.F. start off with something brief and stacatto.

Keith (Glasgow) made the point that we must become membership-based to exclude liberals, etc., and to combat

complete structureless-ness , while Charlie (Glasgow) stressed the point that we need to attract as well as exclude.

Returning to the drawing up of a statement, John said that it should not come down to selecting AWA or Solidarity. He suggested that small group get together to draw up aims and principles for presentation to the conference.

At this point John(Fife) asked to have a point clarified,what is to be the relationship between groups and S.L.F.? Is the SLF to be something above individual groups?

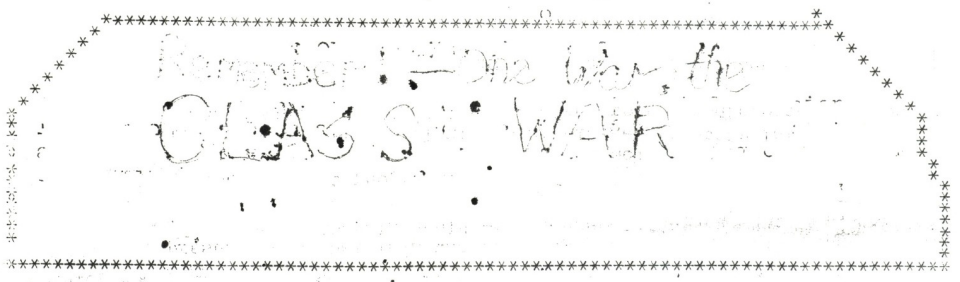
It was agreed among those present that this was what we were really talking about. Dave saw the need for a revolutionary group to clarify three points-the nature of contemporary capitalist society,what kind of society we wish to replace it with, and how we go about achieving this transformation

Gerry(Glasgow) said that he saw any meaningfull changes in structure as leading to a structure similar to AWA-therefor there were good points in keeping the SLF similar to what it is now-it is very usefull in libertarians in Scotland in touch with each other. This was challanged by John(Dun.) who did not see that a meaningfull structure change need lead to a structure similar to that of AWA;for instance the problem of poor communications could be solved by only a slight structural change. Charlie said that he thought AWA was evangelical-Dave asked him to avoid personality rows and stick to the point After Bob(Edinburgh) interupted to say that he didn't think Glasgow's frictions should be brought up at the conference, John(Fife) returned to the original point ofthe purpose of the SLF . Charlie wanted to cut off some of the fat from the SLF a oid building a structure that would cause splits in the present SLF. Keith and Bob thought it a good idea to water down AWA & Solidarity's aim's, with John (Dun.) making the point that the amount of structure we adopt should be governed by what we want out of it, do we want to form policies, for instance.

Paul wanted to see better communication citing the M. Brinton tour cock-up as an example, as well as a gendral tightening up of the SLF. To aid communication, Sharon(Edin.) suggested that we include the SLF address-list in each newsletter

John (ife) drew the conferences attention back to the basic point:what do we see as the purpose of the SLF.

Paul said that he saw it as co-ordinating and disseminating information, while Dave thought it wrong that we should introduce membership to the SLF while we are only organised to unite on a discussion basis;this would encourage people to think of it as sufficient for a revolutionary organisation. The SLF would be completely characterised by student/middle-class support, being over-obsessed by ideas rather than action, similar to AWA. Keith stressed the difference between form and content, while John(Dun,) had a limited aim for the SLF-just to bring in a few more people. He saw membership as being an important point as it would help to share responsability, while Dave saw no real diference between the present SLF and what was being discussed. He felt that the SLF should either be the main forum for organisation or it should cease.



We returned to look at what had been discussed, and the following motion was put to the conference and passed:

1. Membership of the SLF to be based on agreement with a statement (to be drawn up later) plus minimum payment of 1 per 6 months.

Bob wanted to see constituted SLF groups, as distinct from individual membership; he felt that this would encourage committment. No one else was in favour.

Charlie saw the need for the SLF to form policies, which would require some form of discussion bullatin. After debate, the following was put to the conference and carried;

2. That we produce an internal discussion bullatin which can be sold to the public
3. That it come out every two months.
4. That it be produced by a permanent production group.
5. That there be no limit to the length of articles.

Not carried were that production be monthly, and that production be rotated with a permanent XXXXXXXXXXXXXX contact address with one member from each group being present at selection and production of articles.

Charlie volunteered to produce it and this was accepted by the conference. Any articles from non-SLF members are to be put in at the discression of those involved in the production of that issue.

When discussing the name of the publication, John(Dun.) was opposed to the use of the word anarchist as he felt that it would put people off; he pointed out that we were the Scottish Libertarian Federation. As to his suggestion that we use the word libertarian in the title, many of those present felt that this was unsuitable as it conveyed nothing specific, it was to open;liberals could easily associate themselves with it. It was left untill later to decide on a name, the same with any technical aspects of production that people might want to bring up.

It was decided that volunteers should get together later to draw up a statement of aims and principles to be put to the conference for discussion on Sunday.

Conference closed for lunch at 1.30.

(N.B. I wasn't able to take notes on every point that was brought up, but all the main points have been covered. Apologies for typing errors.

Gerry C.)

GETTING IT TOGETHER.

(THIS WAS ORIGINALLY WRITEN PRIOR TO THE LAST SLF CONFERENCE)

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE PRESENTSET UP IN SCOTLAND?
AT PRESENT, EACH GROUP FOllows its own path witjout reference to any other group. If a group takes something on then it does so totaly alone Past attempts at joint action have been difficult to organise and have tended to disintegratte at the least presure.- the organisation of this conference has been a classical example, if the Glasgow group had not taken everything on themselwes, then the conference would newer hawe got off the ground.

Our attempts at self-education and sharing ideas on strategy hawe been even more pathettic. It remains to be seen if this conference will be any improvement. I doubt, new ideas sprung from the blue rarely get the consideration they deser e, especially when xxxxxxxxxx discussion newer implies action.

The lack of meaningful activity at the local lewel goes a long way to wards explaining this situation. However the lack of national organisation is the cause as well as the effect of local weakness.

The Glasgow group has seriously considered ditching the Scotish Libertarian Federation as more of a liability than an asset. SLF should suplement our local activity not retard it. IfSLF is to do this itmust be a more democratic and structured grouping, sharing the work and responsibility for joint projects and incorporating a proper communication networkand a mechanism for transmitting theory into action. Below are a number ofpractical steps which must be taken if this end is to be achieved. Itis my own oppinion that they would only be effective and democratic when applied together, butthey are worth considering separately.

STRUCTURE AND DEMOCRACY.

Theymain advantage of a structured national association is one of scale. By sharing responsibility for activities which local groups could not handle alone or which would gain from co-ordinated activty, we are able to expand our activities. Take international work as a good example, no individual or no small group could take on the mamoth task of maintaining contacts withe the thousands of anarchist groups throughout the world.

To do the job properly requires a fairly intimate knowledge of the cultural and historical background of each country. Then you face the arduous and costly task of passing on the information to everyone.

Production os a paper is another important example. No individual group could produce a good regular paper (all credit to APP who do so, but only by employing seweral fulltime workers and sacrificing many important alternatives).

Other more obvious adwantages include a wide circle of contacts = a pool ofhuman resource which combined represents a substtial amount of knowledge and experience. This allows for the dewelopement of infra-structures such as a student network. In each city there are only a few students but nationally there are enough to produce a bulletin, ewen a paper. Also when such a federation works within a tightly organised national structure there is less danger ofbecoming isolated, e.g. students from manual workers.

INTERNAL COMMUNICATION. No organisation is democratic unless everyone has full knowledge of what is going on. Communicating with a wide variety of people who share the same ambitions prevents our ideas from stagnating. Communication is also the first step towards co-ordinating action. How much more the Murray Defence work would have been ifwe could take united action . So much ground work was duplicated; so many good ideas were only applied in one city; and many good ideas never saw the light of day. Also the work and responsibility were very unevenly distributed.

It is vital that we have an internal discussion sheet which is regular, serious and determined to undertake serious analysis.

Why internal? If no-one is doing anything locally then security is not important, but even when a bulletin is purely theoretical, it

is important that people are uninhibited; it always helps to know the background and personality of who you are enguaging in discussion.- I know from experience how easily misunderstandings can arise when "straggers" " become involved in internal matters..

Of course we have had newsletters in the past, butpeople just got pissed off with them; they were all just talk signifying nothing and getting nowhere. It would only be taken seriously if the discussion was initiated with a view to something being done as a result.

There must be a mechanism for making joint descisions = a wa y of transmitting talk into action. Majority rule is the fairest system I can think of, although it is important to emphasise that when solidarity is essential the obligation on the minority is a moral one.

The descission making body mustmeet regularly (Half the f requency of the bulletins?) A basis would thus be provided for regular personal contacts between all areas. I think it would be impractical for everyone to meet so frequently. Whatwould be required is a system of delegates one from each group and rotated within each group.

Naturally the descissions made at these national gatherings would only be on those issues which affect everyone and the groups would have ful autonomy as to the interpretation of national descissions. in action.

Democracy is the essential feature in all of the above points. At the moment an individual could take an action which fucks up the whole movement and this "self-appointed" delegate would be responsible to no-one and no-one would be able to influence tem before the act.

It mustbe obvious to everyone who acceptswhat I say so far, that a membership organisation is implied. We cannot vote on issues when we do not know who is eligible at any one time to vote. .

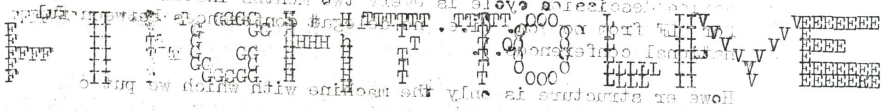
Membership, in turn, implies some basic aims and principles. Other than inclusion of the above points I do notwish to get involved in in discussing them here. Sufice to say that they would be incomplete if they did notdeal with three areas: our analysis of contempory society a statementof our ultimate aim - what constitutes a libertarian society and a statement on how we can reach that state - the form and possibly the content of our programme.

In retrospect, much ofwhat you have just read was put into effect at the last SLF conference. Suprisingly because the above is merely a reflection of the Anarchist Workers' Association structure. With in SLF there is now membership, aims and principles, democratic descissions made at conference, and a communication mechanism.

As the few who have made themselves familiar with AWA structure will know the chief diference between AWA and SLF is an action/discussion cycle of 2 months and 6 months respectively.

However, structure is only the machine which we use toxtput our politics into action. It remains to be seen if the machine is used imaginatively. I don't want to sound to pesimistic, but the last conference did not initiate any action and we hawve to wait six months for the next chance. It is not exactly an intense programme of political activity.

Dawid, Glasgow.



The FIGHT TO LIVE is a revolutionary strategy baseddon the realities of everyday life. It utilises the principles of self activitty, solidarity and direct action to combat price rises, domestic oppression and the grim realities of working in a capitalist production system.

We reject the Right to Work as shallow and ineffective. The Right to Work is the "right" to be exploited. We go deeper to challenge, not only the horror of unemployment, but the very nature of work.

We challenge, not only the rate of pay, but the inhuman conditions of work and the nature of the work we do. Why should we produce rubbishy borbles while millions starve. Why should we forge our own chains - is that not what we do when we take money in fares, food prices a nd rent from those who have nothing.

The struggle outside the factory is just as important, if not more so. We refuse to pa y fares on the buses. We liberate the food from the supermarkets or set up our own co-operative shops. We combine in rent strike and respond to homelessness by squatting. We organise our own creches, nurseries and playgroups.

By doing all this, we do much more than fight for our standard of living; we learn the advantages of solidarity and how to organise effectively. Most of all, we learn the true nature of capitalist society - that they need us, we don't need them. We fight to control every aspect of our lives. WE FIGHT TO LIVE.

Anarchists have always renounced the idea of a political elite, a vanguard to lead the workers in revolution & administer the"dictatorship of the proletariat".

It is certainly true that we have an elite none the less. Look at the type of people who have been involved in the movement, at least since the sixties. The stereotype of the middle class student with a social conscience comes too easily to mind.

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Why is it there are so few real working class people in the anarchist movement ?

There are so many reasons, but it seems to me that one of the most important factors is the way we present our politics. We appeal to them almost exclusiv-ely through the written & spoken word.

The FIGHT TO LIVE is an attempt to ammend this situation. I must make it clear that the FIGHT TO LIVE is not being presen-ted as a piece of idealistic theory; it is a strategy - that is something which implies a commitment to taking action in a particular direction.

It was pointed out that thinking & discussion are important forms of action. This is true, However, revolution is,in my opinion, something which has to be strived for & it will not be brought about by just sitting around talking. Thinking, discussion & action are all required if we are to avoid degenerating into introverted stagnation.

In any case, this misses the point I was trying to make, that many people do not find it easy to relate to abstract concepts.

At school working class people are alienated from the "formal" language of the middle class teachers. When they grow up & take a manual or semi-skilled job, they have no "need" for books & theoretical journals - it is the managers & the politic-ans' job to do all the talking.

We may deplore this situation, but we have to admit that it exists, and the revolutionary movement is part of the problem.

Every left-wing group, including the anarchists, is dominated by the academic type. Often these people are technically working class, but they have adopted the manner of the middle class intellectual. These people will even take the simplest idea and turn it into a complex piece of verbage.

No wonder we fail to attract the ordinary manual worker.

No wonder we only attract more academics. We must break out of this vicious circle.

We must prove our politics in the hot fires of everyday reality. We must take up the bread and butter issues of rising prices and the deterioration of our standard of living. We must show that direct action can alter the immediate reality of here and now. Propoganda by the deed has always spoken louder than paper theories.

Of course this document is a piece of theory. Indeed my whole lifestyle is a paradox. I am a student and all my life I have lived in affluence and relative security - my poor mother can't work out where she went wrong !

It was pointed out at the confere-nce that my attitude was "evangelical". Quite right. I would even go so far as to admit I may be condesending and prone to inverse snobbery. But I am only going to change my attitudes by changing the social background in which they are rooted.

In short,my personal intention is to live with and work alongside ordinary working people. Only then can I hope to win trust & respect. More importantly only by being, directly involved can I learn to relate my politics to everyday life.

It was suggested that a conflict may arise between personal happi-ness and evangelical "self-sacrifice". Certainly an unhappy revolutionary either will not be a revolutionary for very long, or he or she will degenerate into a politcal hack.

Others suggested that our chief task was to sort out our own back-yards. We should concentrate on introducing libertarian concepts into whichever social setting we find ourselves.

This is also very true, but many libertarians have the chance to choose the social setting in which they live & work. I see no reason to accept the position that capitalism puts on you.

In any case none of these critici-sms alter one fundamental fact. The half of the population which

STRUCTURE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY!

The preoccupation concerning the formation of some kind of structure directed at 'building' an anarchist movement in this country is directly related to the increase in the economic, political and cultural exploitation which is being put into effect in a time of acute crisis within the capitalist system, and a feeling of inadequecy in the face of it.

For some, the adherence to the Association basing itself on the Archinov Platform, itself drawn up at a time of exasperation & disillusionment, has seemed to offer a solution. The fact is though that, as well as the dangers which the logic of such a type of organisation could lead to in the authoritarian sense, as well as its workerist attitudes and nauseating display of triumphalist photographs of hangers on at demonstrations and strikes, these comrades, just as much as any others among us, have failed to produce any worthwhile analyses of the present economic and social situation, any methodology of struggle against it, or any incision in the class war which is being daily waged on & around us. Of course itis easy to criticise the position of the AWA comrades (which I intend to do with a series of arguments on the problem at a later date) but this does not exonerate the rest of the movement from the same lack of a realistic and politically & intellectually honest approach to the revolutionary struggle.
Self-flagelation however has no merit, and this is not our aim. It is time that a determined effort be made to overcome the apologist -ic attitude which prevails within the movement, reaction against the bourgeois historians who will have it that anarchism is a thing of the past. Not by constructing heroes nor coming out with well worn cliches about mutual aid shall we make it live now.

If anarchism is to be dynamic within the social process of that dynamic, anarchist militants (during the pre-revolutionary period until the time when they merge with the protagonists of the revolution) must be fully aware of what that process is. We must study the structure of power in all its subtilties, individuate our class enemies, especially those disguised as friends, develope means of struggle which are suited to the structures we have to destroy. The engagement is a total one. It is amazing how many comrades seem to lead an almost schizophrenic existence, leaving their 'academic' &Mworking' lives behind to come to meetings where they can sit for hours in a barren atmosphere of intellectual & spiritual poverty, a collective non-creation of all present. In my opinion this is largely caused by the prevailing workerism which stuntifies body & soul. However much we deplore the existing system of the division of intellectual & manual labour into which we have been born, it is not through a total negation of our faculties that this situation will be overcome. On the contrary, we owe it in the first place to ourselves as individuals, in the second as part of the class collectivity, to develop our possibilities beyond our unknown limits. That too is revolution. To cross the borders which have been assigned to us, whether they be physical, intellectual, sexual, creative etc.. The revolution from the anarchist point of view is a total change of values as well as a change in production relations.
In the same way our methodology in the struggle is based on the qualitative value of each comrade, not on counting heads or the number of militant papers sold. This is the great difference between the authoritarian & the libertarian ideologies. We must not lose sight of it when trying to make our intimate certainty that a libertarian solution to the human problem is the true and only valid one become concrete reality. Strength in number is a falacy in the libertarian outlook. The libertarian becomess strength only when his actions do coincide with the real struggle oft the masses.

IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY etc/ Of course what actions do coincide and strengthen the class struggle is another problem which must be taken up in the future, certain types of 'revolutionary' organisation often choosing to 'expel' from the class struggle actions which put their own theoretical and physical comfort in peril.

This is why I feel that the obsession with organisation is a false problem at this stage inthe development of the struggle, a way of avoiding the issue, of facing up to one's own lack of iniative & resolution, and does not solve thef fundamental problems. The search for programmes, of struggles to be carried out, actions to be realised, are tasks which every militant has to face. At the same time this does not prevent, but on the contrary enhances the possibility of finding common agreement on methods and objectives, when necessary through conferences, bulletins, letters etc..

We must all engage ourselves working either as individuals or affinity groups, to finding IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY as a necessary premiss to DIRECT ACTION. This includes examining critically old forms of struggle now out-dated due to structural changes in capitalism and its productive relations. Careful analysis is also necessary of such organisms as are supposedly working in the interests of the exploited - unions, tenants' associations etc, and an alternative found in stimulating the formation of autonomous groups or cells in all areas which economic & social exploitation reaches,- industry, schools & colleges, living areas etc, aimed at ATTACKING exploitation DIRECTLY and insuring against compromise or takeover by reformist groups.

Only in engaging ourselves directly in the real struggle with all the preparatory work which this entails will organisational problems find their true perspective, communicational ones have any real significance, and a development of the class struggle in a libertarian direction have any possibility of surviving.

(JEAN, West Stirlingshire),

Keith(Glasgow).

WHY the SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation?

While we may be very radical in attacking the frameorks of reference(paradigms in social science jargon) of other 'political' movements, it is often the case that we are conservative often to the extreme when comrades attempt to 'suspend' our taken-for-granted assumptions which together make up our own framework of reference. Seen this way that's why I welcomed the session on ELECTIONS at the recent Conference because it gave a chance for us to 'suspend' one of our "divine commandments"(if you are a purist/dogmatist) & critically re-examine our theory & practice in relation to ELECTIONS.

To be provocative once more, at a recent Glasgow group meeting we were evaluating the outcome of the Conference & the main focus was on the new SLF Structure which would facilitate our "ideological clarity" as well as hopefully improving the coordination of simultaneous direct action etc.. During this I raised the question WHY was it beneficial to have SCOTLAND as the geographic-al location within which our own sense of AFFINITY is expressed. On elaborating WHY I thought Scotland to be the most meaningful level to federate at - degree of seperate development of culture & socio-economic categories & poltical/legal Institutions PLUS the contemporary popular demand(whether it is based on mythology is irrelevant) for Self-government & autonomy from the London Central State Apparatus. Surprisingly, only Alex of those present agreed with the question being posed & I was left wondering how comrades could see what was happening in their own 'back-yard' without taking this SCOTTISH question into account & keen to confront this taken-for-granted 'Internationalism' which helps obscures as part of a General theory the specificity of cultural units which are in the throes of struggle over National liberation & an analysis of what are the main forces -within capitalism- for this pressure

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Libertarian industrial network - contact Martyn Everrett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex for details of comrades in your public sector or industry(regular bulletins).

THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROPOGATION OF LIBERTARIAN IDEALS.

In the 100 years or so since Bakunin codified his ideas on the concept of liberty & the routes available to that goal, the very thought of participation in "parliamentary democracy" has been anathema to libert-arians, scorned as being a trick to stultify dissident elements, which indeed it is. There is however, a possibility, I feel, that libertarians can utilise a section of the state apparatus to their own ends: the elections by which we 'choose' our 'leaders'.

At present the Libertarian movement in Scotland faces a number of problems in being able to show itself as live & functioning: monopoly of the press in authoritarian hands & unwillingness to have their names associated with elections has meant that, by and large, the public is entirely ignorant of their existence, and where that existence is recognised, it is distorted to such an extent as to make the term "anar-chist" wither pejorative or ridichulous. The press handling of the Murray's plight is a prime example: all of the major national newspapers readily accepted the Dublin Government's account of the 'trial', & the Guardian, indeed, went so far as to ignore a plea to investigate more fully the circumstances of the 'interrogations' which resulted in a confession.

More specifically, I'm sure we all remember the incident in Scotland of the spraying of the West German Consulate in Edinburgh to protest about Ralf Stein's treatment by "the most liberal government in Western Europe": there was a 10 second reference to it on television and virtual-ly nothing in the newpapers. This situation has undoubtedly come about due to collusion between the authorities and the newspaper proprietors and editors, and those of the television networks & results in our being unable to capture the attention of the public or make them aware of our existence & aims. There are newsletters, periodicals and other materials produced by the libertarian movement here, as well as their presence at marches and so on, but the papers etc are, I believe, really only preaching to the converted at the moment, while the marches or other protests go unnoticed or are misrepresented, as has been seen.

If what I have argued above is true, how can we remedy this state of affairs? There are, for me, two choices open to us: we either intensify propogandising by deed, or we look elsewhere, elsewhere being participat-ion in elections. The first remedy is perhaps more palatable to anarchists, for propoganda of the deed has always been a part of the principles which we are supposed to hold: unfortunately, however, such work as has been done in this field already has failed, since it has produced no propogation. The intensification of such a policy would have what consequences? :- personal violence perhaps? or attacks against institutions which uphold capitalist authoritarianism: banks, police stations, government offices, with the aim of destruction of materials? These aims are defensible but the libertarian movement would still have no means of challenging the principle of authority while it found itself unwilling to face and compete with those who are authoritarian and face and compete with them on the public stage.

Elections to institutions like local & national government carry with them a certain amount of publicity which we as libertarians can profit from. A candidate who stood as an anarchist/libertarian ticket would receive a certain amount of attention, even if it were jocular, since he/she would be regarded as a crank in certain quarters. The essence of my argument is that presenting himself for election he/she could not be ignored and thus the candidate would be able to propound anarchism on a regional or national basis, depending on the post for which he/she was standing. But in order to make this scheme foolproof it would be necessary for several anarchists to present themselves at a General Election so that the maximum coverage could be gained, and an end put to the image of the anarchist being either a hopeless romantic or an evil bastard. It would force the Press &TV to recognise the existence of a libertarian

(ctd p21)..

AGAINST ELECTIONS

So today we have 'Marxists' talking of 'Voting Labour without illusions' when voting Labour is in itself the biggest illusion of them all. We hear slogans like 'Make the left MPs fight when they have shown a thousand times that they will not, cannot fight because they are simply the miserable tail of fag-end reformism.

We are told to vote Labour to keep out the Tories whereas politically the Labour party is just as much an instrument of the ruling class as the tories have ever been. (Robin Blackburn, Red Hole 1970 - quoted in Wildcat, October 1974).

None of this, however, prevented the IMG from contesting seats in the 1974 elections or from pursuing a general strategy of 'Vote Labour but rely on your own struggles'. This should not surprise us nor should the recent fielding of 'Socialist Worker' candidates. Leninists, despite their rhetoric, have always been committed to 'using' the parliamentary machine.

What IS surprising is the suggestion that as libertarians we 'use' the election machine. This is indefensible on any grounds. Voting for anyone be they social democrats, trots or even anrchists IS illusory. It means giving up your autonomy both as an individual and as part of a collective to a 'representative' It means putting faith in someone to do something FOR you. It means in short, accepting passivity and impotence. This is completely sterile. All around us, if we would only look, the status quo and authority are being challenged - in workplaces, in the home, in the family, in schools. This may not always be fully self conscious and may only be partial, it is, nevertheless, positive. It is something we seek to generalise and to assist becoming self-conscious. To indulge in electioneering in

...back pedal on these positive aspects, it is to ...reinforce passivity, cynicism and reliance on OTHERS to do things.

There are those who say that elections and standing candid... election provide a platform for our ideas. But this must involve ...engaging in the tortuous double talk of 'voting with no illusions' ...for the even more tortuous standing candidates but asking for ...'No vote' as WE are seen to be having illusions no matter what ...our intentions.

All this is not to deny that election times can provide ...a good focal point for a libertarian strategy but that strategy ...must be unequivocably anti-elections. There is no anti-election... ...work which cannot be done better from outside the traditional ...machine and traditional politics. The method and content are ...altogether another question. It is our fundamental DISBELIEF in ...elections which make us different. (Paul, Glasgow)

movement they, by giving our ideas coverage, would ...attract support for them & show them to be credible ...and feasible.

Where does one start in realising this goal, and how do we prevent our being castrated by the system? The answer to the first part of the question is among the member groups of the S.L.F.: because of the choice of two constituencies in which to vote for those who attend University, there would be a nucleas of people willing to concentrate work in their University seat, to propogandi... ...ise, publicise libertarian views, and ensure that people became acquainted with the name of the chosen candidate and why he/she was standing. Which brings ... to how we prevent State castration of libertarian ideals. The candidate & his/her supporters would publici... ...the fact that, if elected, he/she would not accept the post ...because to do so would be to accept authority and recognise the ...candidate's right to regulate the lives of others. By ...di... the candidate would compete with the authoritarians on their own terms, with a degree of guarantee that he/she would be propogating his/her belief & that there would be a response to them. By standing, the candidate would be challenging the principle of authority, a principle which goes unchallenged while libertarians refuse to participate in elections & while other means of propogenda are producing no results. By standing, the candidate would be able to demonstrate on a widely-publicised basis the fact that authorit... ...arianism is both irrational & evil and that this applied to all those who are standing, with the purpose of "reprenting" the voters. Although this argument which I have just voiced is simplistic in its ...coherence, failing to account, for example, of the substantial financial ...implications it would mean, & perhaps even being incoherent in parts, I feel ...that it is a subject which needs airing even if it is only to be ...refuted by SLF members, because through discussion of the best way to ...propogate our ideals we can achieve a coherence which may have either ...been lacking to aid our efforts to obtain support. (Barney, MAG).

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...ally to collect money for the Murrays Defence Com...
...While this social was in progress the German police burst into the house ...threatened to set the dogs on the comrades and then sprayed all the rooms in the house with 'Chemical Mace'.

* * *

An Appeal for International Support

We have just received the following news concerning comrade Wolf BarnBrock. We are awaiting a much fuller account of his case. Wolf Barnbrock was arrested during the Stockholm seige and was handed over to the German authorities and has been in isolation ever since. He receives no visitors and no "Red Aid" assistance as there is no localocal group. He speaks English and should receive messages of Solidarity. He badly needs pocket money to buy writing paper and envelopes, spamps, fruits, milk and tobacco. Political prisoners may receive Xmas parcels. Any comrade wishing to write to Wolf Barnbrock please don't hesitate (as this comrade is on the verge of a breakdown) and the same goes for money. If any comrade wishes to send money through us, just contact us (A&V) The prison address is, Wolf Barnbrock, Holstenglaus 3-5, 4. OG, D-2000 Hamburg 36, West Germany.

* * *

On Wednesday, the 25th of June, 1976 at five o'clock in the morning, the men, women and children of the Comunidad del Sur in Montevideo, Uruguay were awakened at gunpoint. For nearly twenty years these people had led a life of total co-operation. Their source of income, a printing press operated by anarchist students and workers, was their attempt to crystalize, in words and practice, the thoughts that had been only theory for so long. They sought to express and experience individual autonomy, conscious and responsible sharing in daily work and life which integrated political ideals with practic. realities.

Of the community's 56 members, 12 were detained. all of them involved in the operation of the printshop at 1484 Canelones Street, Montevideo. Theur imprisonment closed the printshop and left alone on the community's farm only children, adlescents and an 86 year old man to fend for themselves.

The comrades detained without cause are new additions to the tragic list of victims of the dictatorial regime which has oppressed Uruguay since the military took power and established the brutal tyranny that has bloodied the country for four years. Juan Maria Bordaberry is a grotesque puppet in whose name the military thugs walk all over human rights. Torture, prison, kidnapping and murder the means in which they - the infamous Fuerzas Conjuntas - dominate the small republic. Through terror, demagoguery, daily propaganda and censorship, Uraguayans heroically resist the encroachments of fascism, seeking out liberty and the return of human values.

These lines are intended to alert comrades and thr whole world so that they can demonstrate their solidarity, both ideological and economic, with the Comunidad del Sur in its time of need. The address of the community's farm is:

Felipe Cardozo 2098
Montevideo, Uruguay

We send fraternal greetings to all comrades.

Comite del Ayud a a la Comunidad del Sur

A recent letter from Buenos Aires mentions that seven more members of the community, having escaped to Argentine, have been detained by the Argentinian authorities without cause - further proof of the anti-libertarian alliance between the Argentinian and Uruguayan 'gorilla' regimes.

Aid for the Community can be sent c/o The Committe for the Defense of the Comunidad del Sur, Toronto, P.O. Box 429, Station "E" Toronto, Ontario, Canada. We thank you for your Solidarity.

The article on Uruguay was taken from Industrial Defense Bulletin Vol 3 No. 2.

(Veronica & Andy, Port Glasgow)

NEWS FROM BRATACH DUBH: Critique of syndicalist methods(incorporating analysis of Trade Unionism in Italy&Britain) will be AVA LABLE some time in the 2nd ½ of Jan.'77. Copies of this significant publication + the ist pamphlet "ANARCHISM & NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES",20pincl.postage from Port Glasgow cds.

MURRAYS DEFENCE COMMITTee

I55 Church Road, Gelbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

News bulletin Wednesday I6th December 76

On the IIth December the Supreme Court in Dublin quashed the convictions of Capital Murder imposed on Noel and Marie Murray by the Special Criminal Court on June 9th I976 - convictions which were upheld by the Court of Criminal Appeal. The conviction for murder imposed on Noel Murray was upheld and he was sentenced to imprisonment for life with penal servitude. In the case of Marie Murray the Supreme Court ordered a retrial on the original charge of Capital Murder. This trial is to take place in the court that originally found her guilty, the Special Criminal Court.

In their judgement of the appeal, all 5 Supreme Court Judges criticised the Special Criminal Court for its handling of the case, saying that it had "misdirected itself in law"in convicting Noel and Marie Murray of Capital Murder. In effect this means that Marie and Noel Murray have spent over six months in the death cell in solitary confinement(a record for these islands)as a result of the legal incompetance of the Special Criminal Court. If the Murrays had not appealed the convictions they would now be dead.

This is the second time in less than six weeks that verdicts of murder passed on people by the Special Criminal Court have been reversed by higher Courts. The second case involved the aquital of two men who had been wrongly charged with murder. Having made two such serious mistakes surely the question of competancy of the Special Criminal Court must be questioned particularly by legal authorities.

The Special Court is a court which sits without a Jury and was set up to try people whom the state considered were attempting to overthrow the state by armed conspiracy. This Court although it sits without a Jury has no safeguards for the defendants as Courts without juries in other countries have. It is the opposite - defendents in many cases in the last few years have been found guilty on the word of one police officer, without a shred of evidence being produced. In the case of Marie and Noel Murray they were not allowed to be present at their trial nor were they allowed to make ANY STATEMENT before the judges passed sentence.

It is with this background in mind that the Murray Defence Committee has has always demanded a trial by jury for the Murrays. We feel that they did not, and could not, have received a fair trial in this type of court, without a jury and in front of judges especially appointed by and solely responsible to the government, and where the burden of proving innocence is traditionally forced on the accused and where the judges and the police enjoy an abnormally close relationship. Whatever chance there was of a fair trial in a normal jury court with the politically charged atmosphere of the whole legal proceedings of April to June of I976, there was none whatsoever in the Special Criminal Court.

The decision of the Supreme Court to grant a retrial is an indication of the correctness of our demand. But the decision that the retrial be in the Special Criminal Court is a farce, particularly as the case is to be heard by the SAME JUDGES as before who are most unlikely to go against their own verdict.

Given these facts and the history of this political court we demand that Marie Murray be tried in the normal form before a judge and jury - in a non-political court. In short we demand that justice be done.

Despite the quashing of the sentence of capital punishment on Noel and Marie, Capital Punishment still remains on the statute books in this country and most immediately is a very real question in the retrial of Marie Murray,

(over) ....

MURRAY DEFENCE(continued).....

regardless of what court she is tried in, and in a number of other cases before the courts at present. Therefore we affirm our total opposition to hanging and will continue our campaign vigorously for its total abolition.

I. The Murray Defence Committee demands that the retrial of Marie Murray be by jury.

2. We condemn the use of the Special Criminal Court for the retrial of this case.

3. We re-affirm our committment to the campaign for the total abolition of capital punishment.

4. We demand a retrial by jury for Noel Murray.

With regard to the above article, from the Murray Defence Committee in Eire, I include a plea to all libertarians in Scotland and throughout the world. This is simply that we dont lapse into a lethargy caused by the long - drawn out nature of this campaign. I mention this because it appears that the Irish government have chosen Marie and Noel in exactly the same manner as did the American courts choose Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco.

The Irish state had intended to use the Murrays as a test - case, to re-introduce hanging in Eire. They find this desirable as a weapon to wage war on <u>all</u> political groups dedicated to overthrowing imperialism. It is not merely by chance however that the Murrays were chosen as guinea-pigs,they fit the bill admirably, i.e. they have few familial ties, they belong to an alienated political grouping and they have a history of ripping - off money from banks.

However the revolutionary solidarity shown with the Murray's has been staggering beyond belief... to the perpetual embarasment of their tormentors. The case rapidly became a political 'hot potato' and no doubt Cosgrave and his Blueshirt comrades would love to forget about the whole thing, but they're not on! The case will become more diffuse as time drags on and for this reason alone I ask comrades to act with the greatest urgency and to be prepared for a lengthy struggle. If you have already made a protest, make more.Keep the petitions flooding in.Occupations,pickets and street theatres are all important. If it all seems long and drawn out and totally exhausting - remember Marie and Noel have spent 6 months in solitary and she might still face the death sentence.

Protests to :-

Premier,Liam Cosgrave.
Justice Minister, Cooney.
(both at the Dail, Dublin, Eire.)

Solidarity to ;-

Marie Murray, Mountjoy Prison, Dublin.
and
Noel Murray, Curragh Military Camp,
Co. Kildare, Eire.

Technically since the sentence on Noel has been commuted and Marie is being granted a retrial,they should now be allowed to receive and send mail - they'll be all the better for hearing from you !

Venceremos,Charlie (Glasgow).

<u>FOOT-NOTE FROM PRODUCTION COLLECTIVE</u>: Comrades,the prod.collective convey our apologies for the poor quality of this ,the first issue of Libertarian & also for the delay in sending it out. This was due in the main to gremlins in our gestetner(they have now been severely dealt with!). But if the quality of print isnt too hot,then the articles submitted are excellent! Next edition is being accepted now and the deadline for articles is the 26th February. The success of the journal depends on the volume and quality of material submitted. We agreed on a policy of no-editing and this is proving very workable. Also there is no limit on the length of articles.... but if you could condense them a maximum of 2 pages of A4then you might qualify for a Christmas card this year. Salud!

SEXISM & LIBERTARIANS

It was suggested to me that I wrote an article on Womens Liberat-ion for the "SL M", but I came to the conclusion that there were plenty of good books & pamphlets which provide an introduction to the aims & ideals of the Womens' Liberation Movement(see reading list). Instead, I'm going to write down a few thoughts on how, in revolutionary politics,including amongst anarchists, women are discriminated against & made to feel 2nd-class cds.

To realise that there IS sexism amongst libertarians comes as a nasty surprise. Especially when many of those who have led the anarchist movement forward,for example,Mary Wollstencraft,Louise Michels,Emma Goldman, are women, & in all of those failed revol-utions of which we are so proud,eg the 1871 Commune,the Spanish Republic,& Kronstadt,women AFTER A STRUGGLE achieved equal rights & responsibilities with their male comrades. So why are there so few women in proportion to men in our anarchist groups? Why do some try to get involved,get fed up and leave - either becoming politically apathetic,or giving up altogether on any vision of a world where women,men and children will ALL be free, & just concentrating on trying to build a new society for women only?

One reason is organisation, or rather lack of it. For the friend-ship/affinity group will tend to be all men - simply because men have a tradition of "mateyness", or getting together as friends for certain activities not necessarily connected with the home or work. And to the outsider these "political friendships"groups don't look much different from a darts or football team! If a woman is brave enough to try and get into one of these groups, then she'll get a frosty reception. For how can the men continue to tell obscene women-hating jokes, or get pissed and fight? Or often women come into such groups as the wife/woman friend of one of the men already involved,which isn't at all a bad thing in itself, but generally it means that the wife still plays second fiddle - she was last in,she'll probably be first out too! Because she'll defer to her man, afraid that any argument will continue at home. And it will usually be her who'll look after the kids if other arrangements fall through, and so miss meetings. In actual fact, these criticisms also apply to groups which are nominally more tightly organised. I say "nominally" because what tends to happen is that because libertarians are few in number,the groups are basically friendship/affinity groups anyway.

Another sexist feature amongst libertarians is that sexual politic-s is not persuasive enough. We're afraid to make it a main mark of our politics, afraid to say that anti-sexism and working toward-s new alternatives in sexual matters some of the things that makes us different to other Left groups. Fifty years ago,anarchist-s like Emma Goldman &Alexander Berkman were much braver than us, even though they had more to lose (Emma Goldman was sent to jail for lecturing about contraception & "Free love")! Now we just have a few token books on Womens Liberation on our bookstalls - which we never discuss amongst ourselves,men & women together, because that would expose all the cracks! And perhaps we have a meeting here & there on"the Sexual question" (Yes,I'm phrasing it like Lenin did on purpose,because some of us are no more libert-arian in this respect than the Leninist/Trotskyist politics were always knocking!).But it'll all be very academic, with copious references to the Trobriand Islanders,& Wilhelm Reich - not real life problems, like the continuing oppression of gay men in Scotland, or lesbian mothers having their kids taken away from them,or what WE are doing about battered wives.

I'd like now to make a few recommendations on how I think this situation can be overcome. Firstly, by women being enabled to participate, and being seen to participate in politics. Details of this would include things like dejargonising what we say...(ctd)

SEXISM & us ctd/ ...and write; having friendly,discussing educat
-ion meetings, instead of everybody being left to pursue their political education on their own; having a rotating chairperson , so that women could get experience at running a meeting. In addition, encouraging ALL members of the group,even those who seem reluctant at first, to learn howt to type,print, make posters,duplicate,compose leaflets,collect information,book rooms for meetings,contact other groups and individuals,speak in public ,etc..And finally, by not having meetings in pubs - if your babysitter doesn't arrive,you can't bring the kids along to a pub, plus many women feel very ill at ease in pubs, especially if ... waiting for everyone else to turn up! And by arranging meetings well publicised before hand, with a creche whenever possible, perhaps on an exchange basis with another political or community group. I hope this article sparks off some discussion on Sexism in the pages of "SL" and also amongst individuals in the S.L.F.
(see libertarian womens newsletter too) (Sharon,Edinburgh).

FEMINIST ANTHOLOGY - a selection of basic readings.
(*price not known,@publisher not known,P-Pluto,PeNGUIN,PaILLADIN)).
Mary Wollstencraft - VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN,Pe,40p.
Shiela Rowbothom - WOMEN,RESISTANCE&REVOLUTION,Pe 80p
(wideranging intro to womens struggles&WLM).
Juliet Mitchell - WOMENS ESTATE,Pe 35p.
Shiela Rowbothom -WOMENS CONSCIOUSNESS,MAN'S WORLD, Pe 30p.
(an impressionistic history of the WLM).
HIDDEN FROM HISTORY, B ,75p. ((FWP=Falling
Simone de Beauvoir - THE 2ND SEX, Pe,*. Wall pamphlets))
Shulamith Firestone - DIALECTIC OF SEX,@*.
Maurice Brinton - THE IRRATIONAL IN POLITICS,Solidarity,40p.
Kate Millet - SEXUAL POLITICS & THE PROSTITUTION PAPERS,both Pa.
Elaine Morgan - THE DESCENT OF WOMAN,Corgi(delightful answer
* to Desmond Morris).
Betty Friedan - THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE,Pe*(very good on being a middle class housewife in the USA).
Alexandra Kollontai -SEXUAL RELATIONS & THE CLASS STRUGGLE (FWP)*
LOVE& THE NEW MORALITY, WOMEN WORKERS STRUGGLE FOR THEIR RIGHTS.
NCCL- "RAPE CONTROVERSY ,15ppamphlet & RIGHTS FOR WOMEN,75p
Erin Pizzoy - SCREAM QUIETLY OR THE NEIGHBOURS WILL HEAR, Pe
(special story of the battered wives hostels).
Eva Forest - FROM A SPANISH JAIL, Pe*.
Hilda Bernstein - FOR THEIR TRIUMPHS & THEIR TEARS, (Women in South Africa,Internat.Dev. Fund,50p).
Emma Goldman- THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN & OTHER ESSAYS,@75p.

collections of writings:
Alice Rossi,editor - THE FEMINIST PAPERS,Bantam(last 2 centuries)*
Micheline Wandor " - THE BODY POLITIC,Stage 1,60p(Britain,1967-72)
Allon,Sanders,Wallis - CONDITIONS OF ILLUSION,Feminist Bks,*.

novels/autobiographies:
Doris Lessing - THE GOLDEN NOTEBOOK,Panther £1.
Emma Goldman - LIVING MY LIFE, 2 vols,rather expensive,try Library.
Kate Millett - FLYING, Ballantyne,*.

Poetry & Plays:
Robin Morgan -MONSTER,@,40p. Sylvia Plath- ARIEL,@*.
Dinah Brooke & Micheline Wandor - SINK SONGS,@,45p.
Mod Donna & Deyelon 2 from Pathfinder,90p.

Gay Liberation: WITH DOWNCAST GAYS,Pomegranate,30p.
THE POLITICS OF HOMOSEXUALITY,B,20 p,pamphlet.

Sex roles & Health:
Birmingham WL- OUT OF THE PUMPKIN SHELL(Running a WL playgroup)35p
ELENA G.BELOTTI - LITTLE GIRLS,writers&readers publishing copp,85p.
COMPLAINTS & DISORDERS,Compendium,80p(social attitudes,causes,illness)
OUR BODIES OUR SELVES - Easton Womens' Collective,*.

PERIODICALS/Papers: SPARE RIB, at newsagents,monthly.*
WOMENS REPORT,bi-monthly bulletin,*. WOMENS' CHARTER -monthly paper on working women.VINDICACION FEMINISTA-vaguely libert.80p+post(Sharon)

ANARCHISM AS METHOD: I see anarchism as a means to an end, the creation through social revolution of class-less society, horizontally & freely structured, rather than an end in itself. Seen this way, as being the way we struggle as opposed to an abstract Ideal which we propogate as being the "truth" which generations of anarchists have handed down to us, the way is clear to be anarchic in both the why & how dynamics of what an alternative revolutuonary approach is. We are not dealers in wither egoism(self-glorification) or altruism(self-abnegation). Such categories are products of history & of course are socially constructed, however, what is more revolutionary to grasp is that anarchism as a method must necessarily transcend such categories as egoism/altruism & as a process must critically examine anew not just the "facts" of our existence but the basis upon which interpretation & formulation of "facts" takes place. This"critical examination" would be purely interior if we retired within ourselves(whether individually or collectively) & engaged in study how society"functions" & purely exterior if we rushed out wildly into un-thought out activism. This interior/exterior distinction is based on"opposite" tendencies which are found throughout revolutionary circles(libertarian & Authoritar-ian) & have manifested themselves currently within the SLF. Put simply, if study/activism are "opposites", I support the unity of opposites in order to transcend one-dimensional perspectives.

Incidentally, what I have expressed as above is currently being expressed in Glasgow with the dissolution of GAG & a re-structure towards alternate weekly meetings based on local "Offensives" and the action taking place from one district to another & open libert-arian discussion meetings on concrete topics(see bottom p 2), organised by Glasgow SLF members. In addition informal groups are emerging to follow various projects: music copperative; history of Scottish anarchism; student network; sales of National papers etc.

A debate which surfaced during the SLF Conference discussion on the "Fight to live" & which has been significant of late in Glasgow revolves around the role of revolutionaries & whether "intervention" can be either effective or libertarian. If any of you have seen the 'Solidarity' bulletin on 'Big Flame' & "Neo-narodnikism" you can imagine the terms of the debate. Personally, I again support the "unity of opposites", redefined in terms of content. On the one hand, the "role" of the anarchist minority is to disseminate "propoganda" which can evaluate situations in perspective, from a "distance". On the other hand, base yourself where struggle has most potential, where mutual aid is part of the sub-culture, even although you your-self are "new" to the district. Personally, I don't see the contradiction in doing both. Where I part company with these "opposi-te" tendencies is when they are Idealised & hence degenerate forms of activity. The former, becomes pure propoganda, an intellectual exercise, purely interior in significance. The latter, becomes quasi-evangelical("neo-narodnik") where the activist & his "disciples" seek to "illuminate" the conditions of oppression which stifle human-ity as it ought to be. Our interior/exterior coherence or clarity can only be effectively expressed on a series of these wavelenghths. Another, which is part of a subversive(anarchist method) approach to everyday situations, is to engage in cultural sabotage, This tends to demystify "the society of the spectacle", the fetish of commodit-ies & the real content of "life" as we endure it everyday.

In attempting to be effective we necessarily work out "strategies". These are worked consciously in recognition of one's ongoing situation. There are a number of strategies in evidence within our midst. One is to stay close to the labour movement, act as a genuine "rank & file" posing radical demands, showing up the SWP(IS) & other opportunists for what they are. This is to hang on to their coat-tails, be a Left cohort or democratic version of their strategy.

/pto/

Another strategy, is to precipitate repression in order to force working people into confrontation with the Authorities. This need not only apply under the banner of national liberation struggles, although the question of strategy in relation to Scottish & Irish self-determination on a National basis has direct bearing on our approach. Armed struggle, usually in the form of discriminate action against crucial targets(& perhaps figures) is carried out by close-knit underground affinity groups. In certain contexts this is "defence" against repression from the State,however, what is important here is such a strategy as a means of "attack" to strike terror into the state & the fabric of society as it is. This after fascism us strategy, together with the left cohort strategy as embodied in 'Big Flame' & to a lesser extent the AWA are both one-dimensional according to my reading of the situation. By all means work as a "rank & file" activist,coordinate on the situation "demands". By all means be prepared on the question of armed struggle & an appraisal of State repressive mechanisms. However, each in its -self is inadequete as anarchist method now. Anarchism for me is a method of social struggle, in continuous process of re-evaluation. Unions are a crucial area, a battleground of recuperation & resist -ance to it. However, an anarchist method in relation to workplaces needs to see the fight for"rank & file" controlled Unions as only one aspect. The out-of-print "Strategy for Industrial Struggle" 'Solidarity' pamphlet is a good corrective to the left cohort strategy , recognising the necessity of achieving coherent revolt against "work" itself, both in supervision & content of task, and outlining several methods as they have historically developed. One such method, "The Good work strike"(reprinted in 'Against Authority', May '76,Glasgow) illustrates another aspect of social as opposed-to industrial struggle, with a potential link up between people as consumers & producers. The after fascism us strategy is a very dangerous one to adopt & is necessarily a negation of what can be done as a libertarian in the present situation. I don't see any"automatic" road to anarchy. More likely the polarisation between different forms of Authoritarianism ,where the "libertarian" has committed his own death-wish. The nature of the socialisation process & "Authoritarian conditioning" throws considerable doubt on a strategy which is mechanical & which seeks to short-cut the long struggle still to be "waged".

To conclude, we need to engage in though-out struggle on a whole series of realms: Unions; work itself; against Mass culture; in communities to politicise self-activity;subvert commodity fetish -ism ;subvert Authority & desire to lead/follow etc.,etc. . We have to develope our communication abilities, our conception of alternative reality; avoid being purely interior such as setting up Study groups or Utopian communes would lead to. Above all, from a sense of self-motivation, we recognise as libertarians that fun & libertarian "politics" are part of each other. Anarchism is a way of life, politics in the first person, a means to be effective.
**********(Keith,Glasgow)***

JUST WORDS SIGNIFYING NOTHING? - It comes up again & again, the way language expresses outmoded forms of communication. No where is this most apparent than on the "Left". As with the militarisation of production in Russia, we have the militarisation of Left discourse: a verbal mine-field full of:- strategy, campaign,defend,attack,offensive(which at least has a double meaning) etc.,etc.. We have the religious analogy in terms of Sectarian-ism & their denominational developments. Within the 57 varieties of Marxism & even amongst ourselves we can see how a typology of sects in millenarian anthropology could be applied to "the Left". We have the "old" socialist rhetoric:- militant, propoganda,proletariat,bourgoisie,lumpens,unity,direct action etc & the 'new':- recuperation,communality,autonomy,self-management,contest -ation etc.. The quagmire of jargonese is all to easy to submit to!

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

This magazine is to come out every 2 months. This first one,while exceeding expectations in terms of volume of material, has been delayed by technical problems - both duplicators in Glasgow not being in proper working order & the normally reliable Edinburgh roneo seizing up with a broken spring almost as soon as the ist page was coming through(& then came the festive season!). This delay on the part of the Production Collective means that the closing date for the next one for material - either stencilled or laid out with graphics for subsequent electro-stencilling if possible - will be put back to the 2nd week in Feb.,at the latest. Also, please try & be more to the point with articles rather than let them ramble on ad infinitium,its easier for the P.C. too !

HOW TO CONTACT US:

For SLF membership or Magazine subs,send for a quid deal(£1) to the National Secretary:-
S.Redfern, Mains House,Mains Rd.,Linlithgow,West Lothian.

For the Production Collective - ie. the inclusion of articles:-
C.Baird,122 Benneray St., Milton, Glasgow G22(336-7895).

You can contact your local group of SLF members:-

Aberdeen - S.Blake,c/o 167 King St(APP) - this is both for the Social Revolution & University Anarchist groups.

Edinburgh - B.Gibson, 7 Union St., (tel. 557-1532), also for AWA.

Dundee - several individuals rather than a group eg.Sit,Sol,AWA in orientation - contact via J.Cowan, 17 Cheviot Crescent,Fintry.

Glasgow - same as P.C. above (942-2020,Paul,for Solidarity).

Port Glasgow - for Bratach Dubh publications,international info etc - A&V McGowan,83 Langside Tce.

Stirling - D.Tymes,99 Rosebank, Sauchie,Clacks(or John&Helen, tel. Stirling 62509).

There are also individual contacts who can be contacted by writing to the National Secretary as above:-
Orkney Is., Wick, Fort William, South Argyll,West Stirlingshire, North Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Fife(Glenrothes,St.Andrews & Rosyth).

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK : conference coming up in Manchester - contact Stirling group for details or info about ISN idea.
(same goes for LIBERTARIAN INDUSTRIAL NETWORK, LIBRARY WORKERS ACTION,LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION etc, except contact Glasgow instead).

SOLIDARITY Conference on libertarian organisation (Manchester,Feb).

Weekend SLF "extraordinary" gathering in Lauriston Hall,nr Dumfries 5/6th(Sa/Su)Feb. - if interested contact Edinburgh forthwith.

BETWEEN THE LINES !

M.Brinton - "The Bolsheviks & Workers Control" 60p + postage from Solidarity,123 Lathom Rd., London E6 - also A.Anderson "Hungary '56", 60p,+ ,Solidarity.

Solidarity NWG,15 Charles St., Oxford publish Solidarity paper - 12p+(no.1 out,2 is out soon) & J.Finlayson - "Urban devastat -ion",25p+ ; D.Lamb -"Lump"25p+

Grassroots Bks, 108 Oxford Rd., Manchester distribute a wide selection of @ lit, in partic -ular, Black& Red titles from N.America: Kropotkin "Mutual Aid",£1.80p pbk;Oppenheimer "The State",£2 pbk; S.Dolgoff "Anarchist Collectives in Spanish Revolution",£2; Voline "Unknown Revolution",Russian Revol, £3; Archinov "Maknovists." ,£2,etc.

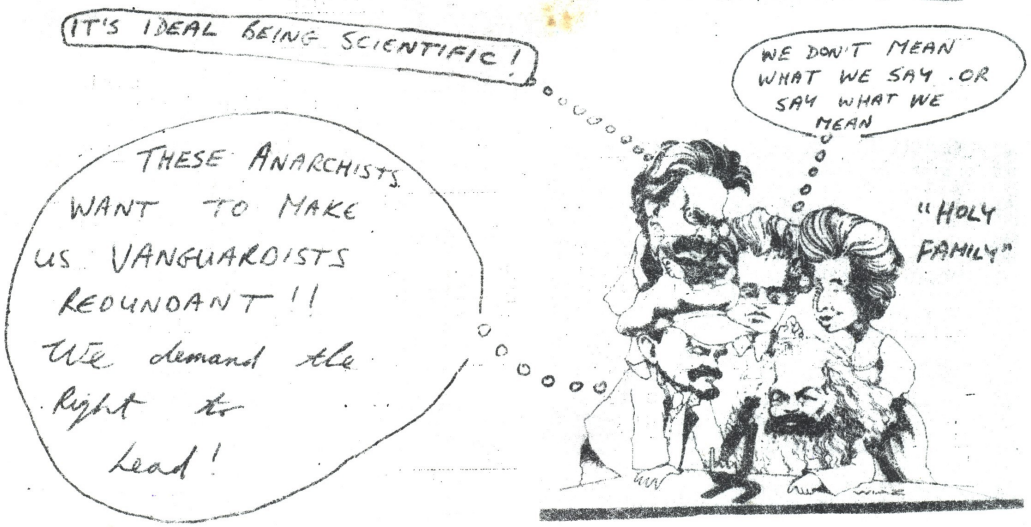
BETWEEN THE LINES !

Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High St London E1 still publish fortnight -ly paper,12p plus wide selection @ lit : incl. Malatesta "Anarchy" 25p+; Berkman" ABC of Anarchism" 25p+; Rocker "Anarchism & Anarcho-syndicalism" 20p+; etc.

open road: comes from Seattle-Vancouver & is glossy & quite(40p) something!no.1 is out & 2 out soon. (from Grass Roots or Freedom bks)

Cienfugos incl.Meltzer "Anarchists 1930s-50s",Over Water,Sanday,Orkney.

ATAL FLAWS IN BY-ELECTION CAMPAIGN
ALTERNATIVE TO TORIES
We need more democracy, but...
Durham IS Secretary
Against corrupt... vote Socialist Work...
Ultra-leftism lets
Three Labour movement candidates
Newcastle
SH
TRUE GRIT
ECTIONS:
nt debate...
We are standing in order to build the organisation'
INTERVIEW WITH JIMMY McCALLUM, 'SOCIALIST WORKER' CANDIDATE IN THE WALSALL NORTH BY-ELECTION


IT'S IDEAL BEING SCIENTIFIC!
WE DON'T MEAN WHAT WE SAY OR SAY WHAT WE MEAN
"HOLY FAMILY"
THESE ANARCHISTS WANT TO MAKE US VANGUARDISTS REDUNDANT!! We demand the right to lead!